

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 10514 01 OF 03 091104Z  
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----004074 091111Z /23  
O 090833Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8667

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 3 TOKYO 10514

NODIS

STADIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY BENNETT AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY  
HOLBROOKE FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OREP, JA, US  
SUBJECT: STAFFDEL PILLSBURY

REF: A) TOKYO 10323; B) BENNETT/SELIGMANN TELCON JUNE 9

1. I HAVE HAD REF A REVIEWED FOR ACCURACY AND AM ASSURED  
THAT IT FAITHFULLY RECORDS KEY POINTS IN STAFFDEL'S  
CONVERSATIONS. IN HIS MEETINGS PILLSBURY REPRESENTED  
HIMSELF, AS NOTED IN HIS NAME CARDS, AS SENIOR ANALYST FOR  
NATIONAL SECURITY, SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE; HE DID NOT  
USE TERM "MINORITY STAFF MEMBER", ALTHOUGH THIS WAS CON-  
TAINED IN STATE 119000 SENT IN REGARD TO ARRANGEMENTS FOR  
HIS VISIT.

2. I HAVE SENT TODAY TO NICK PLATT IN EA/J A SEALED  
LETTER TO SENATOR MUSKIE WHICH I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR  
ARRANGING TO HAVE DELIVERED TO HIM PERSONALLY. FOR YOUR  
INFO THE TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:

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- "DEAR ED: WE HAVE HAD WITH US FOR THE PAST
- TWO OR THREE DAYS A MEMBER OF THE STAFF OF
- THE SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE, MICHAEL PILLSBURY,
- WITH PARTICULAR INTERESTS IN THE SECURITY AREA.
- UNFORTUNATELY, HE MADE NO ATTEMPTS TO AND DID
- NOT CALL ON ME OR ANY OF THE RANKING MEMBERS OF
- THE EMBASSY STAFF. I WOULD HAVE LIKED TO HAVE

- SEEN HIM AND TO OFFER ANY ASSISTANCE THE EMBASSY
  - HAD AVAILABLE BECAUSE OF MY APPRECIATION AND
  - KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONGRESS AND ESPECIALLY MY
  - RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BUDGET
  - COMMITTEE. THIS EMBASSY IS NOT AN ADVERSARY
  - OF THE CONGRESS OR ANY OF ITS COMMITTEES BUT
  - IS INSTEAD ANSWERABLE TO IT AND OUR JOB IS TO
  - COOPERATE WITH YOU TO THE BEST OF OUR ABILITY.
  - THAT IS MY POLICY AND IT WILL CONTINUE. TO DO
  - OTHERWISE WOULD BE INDEFENSIBLE.
- 
- MR. PILLSBURY'S SCHEDULE WAS WORKED OUT PRETTY MUCH
  - ON AN AD HOC BASIS TO MEET HIS REQUIREMENTS AND
  - I AM MAKING SURE THAT YOU HAVE AVAILABLE THE
  - EMBASSY MESSAGES REPORTING THE KEY POINTS IN HIS
  - SEVERAL CONVERSATIONS AS PREPARED BY THE OFFICERS
  - WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM TO MEETINGS WITH THE MINISTRY
  - OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, JAPAN DEFENSE AGENCY, JAPANESE
  - CIVILIANS AND MILITARY OFFICIALS AND CHIEF MILI-
  - TARY ATTACHE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.
  - I THINK YOU CAN SEE FROM THESE MESSAGES WHY I
  - WAS DISTURBED AT THE FREE-WHEELING APPROACH HE TOOK.
- 
- THE MAIN EFFICULTY IS ONE WE CONSTANTLY FACE IN
  - THIS COUNTRY WHERE THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS SO
  - DIFFERENT FROM OUR OWN AND THE VIEWS OF INDIVIDUAL
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- LEGISLATIVE OR EXECUTIVE OFFICIALS FROM WASHINGTON
- ARE OFTEN REGARDED AS THE AUTHORITATIVE VOICE OF
- THE GOVERNMENT -- AT LEAST BY THOSE WHO HAVE NOT
- HAD SOME EXPERIENCE WITH THE WAY THINGS GET DONE
- IN WASHINGTON. SEVERAL OF PILLSBURY'S REMARKS
- IN PARTICULAR TEND TO RUN COUNTER TO OUR ONGOING
- POLICY EFFORTS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE TALKED ABOUT
- PLANS TO TRANSFER TROOPS FROM JAPAN TO EUROPE
- IN THE EVENT OF A NATO CONTINGENCY, WHEREAS WE
- HAVE BEEN WORKING HARD IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS TO
- OVERCOME THE IMPRESSION, STILL PREVALENT IN MANY
- QUARTERS, THAT OUR SECURITY POLICY IS EUROPE-
- ORIENTED AND WE HAVE EMBARKED ON THE FIRST STEPS
- OF AN ASIAN WITHDRAWAL. FRITZ MONDALE'S VISIT TO
- ASIA, BRZEZINSKI'S CONVERSATIONS HERE, AND RECENT
- SPEECHES SUCH AS THOSE BY BRZEZINSKI AND SECRETARY
- OF DEFENSE BROWN, HAVE HELPED IMMENSELY IN SETTING
- THE RECORD STRAIGHT, AND I THINK IT IS FAIR TO
- SAY THAT WE HAVE HAD A PART OF THE INPUT IN THIS
- PROCESS. I, TOO, HAVE BEEN HAMMERING AWAY AGAINST
- THE "WITHDRAWAL" SYNDROME. ACCORDINGLY, IT WAS
- NOT HELPFUL TO STIR UP CONCERN, PARTICULARLY IN

- THE DEFENSE AGENCY, WHICH TENDS TO BE NERVOUS
- ABOUT OUR ABILITY TO STAND FIRM IN ASIA SHOULD
- TROUBLE BREAK OUT SOMEWHERE ELSE.
- SIMILARLY, PILLSBURY ARGUED FOR A MAJOR JAPANESE
- REARMAMENT EFFORT, WHEREAS WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY
- TOLD JAPANESE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HERE THAT
- THEIR DEFENSE BUILDUP DECISIONS ARE UP TO THEM.
- THE JAPANESE REMAIN CONSCIOUS, AS WE DO, OF THE
- ADVERSE REACTION IN MUCH OF ASIA TO THE KIND OF

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

-----004180 091109Z /11

O 090833Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8668

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 TOKYO 10514

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- BUILDUP THAT WOULD ENABLE JAPAN TO PROJECT ITS
- MILITARY POWER OVERSEAS. IT IS INTERESTING TO
- NOTE THAT JAPAN, ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE, WILL
- SPEND \$8.6 BILLION IN 1978 COMPARED TO \$6.1
- BILLION IN 1977, AND THE TREND IS UP.
- ANOTHER SENSITIVE AREA IS COST-SHARING. WE ARE
- IN THE MIDDLE OF DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS, AS A RESULT
- OF WHICH I AM CONVINCED WE WILL GET SOME MORE HELP
- FROM THE JAPANESE FOR THE SUPPORT OF OUR FORCES
- HERE. BOTH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE DEFENSE
- MINISTER HAVE TOLD ME, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS IMPORTANT
- FOR JAPAN TO MAKE THESE DECISIONS ON ITS OWN AND
- NOT APPEAR TO BE DOING SO IN RESPONSE TO U.S.
- PRESSURE. IF THIS WORKS OUT RIGHT, IT SHOULD BE A
- HEALTHY MANIFESTATION OF HOW A COOPERATIVE PARTNER-
- SHIP OUGHT TO WORK. OF COURSE THE JAPANESE ARE
- AWARE OF HOW ALL THIS FITS IN WITH OUR BALANCE-OF-
- PAYMENTS PROBLEMS, BUT EXPLICIT LINKAGE IS NOT THE

- POINT TO GET ACROSS AND THIS IS WHAT PILLSBURY
  - ARGUED FOR. WE ARE MAKING SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS
  - ON COST-SHARING AND WE WOULD NOT WANT TO "ROCK
  - THE BOAT" ON THIS ISSUE. INCIDENTALLY, JAPAN
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- CURRENTLY SPENDS IN DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS
  - RELATED TO THE PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS, APPROXI-
  - MATELY \$565,000,000 PER YEAR, ABOUT THE SAME AS
  - WEST GERMANY, WHERE WE HAVE FIVE TIMES AS MANY
  - TROOPS. ..
  - PILLSBURY HAD JUST RETURNED FROM AN EXTENSIVE
  - TRIP TO THE PRC, AND IN HIS CONVERSATIONS SHOWED
  - A STRONG PRO-PRC, ANTI-SOVIET, BIAS. THE WAY
  - THINGS ARE GOING HIS ARGUMENTS HAVE A CERTAIN
  - AMOUNT OF MERIT, BUT THEY COME AT A TIME WHEN
  - JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH BOTH CHINA AND RUSSIA
  - ARE HEAVILY EMBROILED IN DOMESTIC POLITICS.
  - IN THIS SITUATION, IT SEEMS TO ME IT IS IN OUR
  - INTEREST TO STAY OUT OF AN ISSUE THAT HAS
  - IMPLICATIONS, SAY, FOR THE CONTEST WITHIN THE
  - GOVERNMENT PARTY TO CHOOSE THE NEXT PRIME MINISTER.
  - FINALLY, I KNOW THAT AS FAR AS YOU ARE CONCERNED
  - PILLSBURY'S COMMENT THAT I MIGHT NOT BE IN TOUCH
  - WITH CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CONGRESS, PARTICULARLY
  - THE ROLE OF YOUR COMMITTEE, NEEDS NO CORRECTION,
  - BUT AGAIN IT STRIKES ME AS A BIT OUT OF ORDER
  - THAT HE SHOULD GO AROUND TOKYO TALKING THIS WAY.
  - I THINK, BEING ONE OF THE PRIME SPONSORS AND
  - SUPPORTERS OF THE LEGISLATION CREATING THE BUDGET
  - COMMITTEE AND HAVING WORKED CLOSELY WITH YOU
  - IN ITS DIFFICULT FORMATIVE DAYS IN THE LAST
  - CONGRESS, AS WELL AS FOLLOWING ITS DELIBERATIONS
  - AND COURSE IN THIS CONGRESS, THAT I STILL AM IN
  - TOUCH WITH CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS. AS A MATTER OF
  - FACT I HAVE BEEN STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF THE
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- CONGRESS TO THE JAPANESE IN THE YEAR I'VE BEEN
- HERE AND EMPHASIZING FOUR FACTORS APPLICABLE TO

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----004266 091110Z /11

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8669

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 TOKYO 10514

NODIS

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- BOTH THE HOUSE AND SENATE, TO WIT: THE TAX,
  - FOREIGN RELATIONS, THE BUDGET COMMITTEES AND THE
  - ROLE OF THE JOINT LEADERSHIP.
  
  - INCIDENTALLY, WHY NOT CONSIDER A VISIT TO JAPAN
  - BY YOU AND HENRY BELLMON TO GET A FIRST-HAND VIEW
  - OF THE SITUATION AS IT ACTUALLY EXISTS IN U.S.-
  - JAPAN RELATIONS? IT COULD BE EXTREMELY BENEFICIAL
  - FOR BOTH COUNTRIES AND IS IN LINE WITH MY
  - REPEATED EMPHASIS ON MUTUAL PARLIAMENTARY VISITS
  - TO BOTH COUNTRIES.
  
  - I HESITATE TO BURDEN YOU WITH THIS LENGTHY EXPO-
  - SITION, ED, BUT I THOUGHT YOU WOULD WANT TO BE
  - INFORMED. SINCERELY YOURS, MIKE MANSFIELD."
- MANSFIELD

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## Message Attributes

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